

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 178492

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS

CINCLANT FOR POLAD

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

AMEMBASSY SUVA BY POUCH

USINT BAGHDAD BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY ATHENS BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY ANKARA BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA BY POUCH

USINT ALGIERS BY POUCH

XMT AMEMBASSY CARACAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 178492

DAKAR PASS BANJUL

FOL SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO USUN NEW YORK AUGUST 13

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C O N F I D E N T I A L CARACAS 7732

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS EXCEPT CARACAS

FROM USDEL LOS

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PAGE 02 STATE 178492

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PLOS

SUBJECT: LOS - WEEKLY ANALYTICAL SUMMARY, AUGUST 5-9

1. SUMMARY. REACTION TO U.S. ECONOMIC ZONE AND CONTINENTAL SHELF

ARTICLES IS PROMISING. STRONG U.S. STATEMENT ON CONDITIONS FOR DEEP SEABED EXPLOITATION IS GIVING LDCS PAUSE AND MAY PRODUCE DETAILED LDC COUNTER-DRAFT. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH NEGOTIATION IS BEGINNING TO MOVE FORWARD IN COMMITTEE III. END SUMMARY.

2. A. COMMITTEE I - DISCUSSIONS IN C-1 HAVE LARGELY CENTERED ON MOST CRITICAL ISSUES UNDER COMMITTEE'S MANDATE-EXPLOITATION SYSTEM, CONDITIONS OF EXPLOITATION AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF EXPLOITATION. THERE HAS BEEN LESS RHETORIC AND FEWER PROCEDURAL DEBATES THAT PREVIOUSLY EXPERIENCED IN SEABED COMMITTEE, AND WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, QUALITY OF DISCUSSION IS RAPIDLY APPROACHING THAT OF GENUINE NEGOTIATION.

B. DURING COURSE OF SESSION, GROUP OF 77 HAS BEEN ABLE TO OVERCOME OBSTRUCTIONIST TACTICS OF PERU AND OTHERS AND TO PRESENT FULLY ENDORSED GROUP OF 77 TEXT ON SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION WHICH, ALTHOUGH ENTIRELY UNACCEPTABLE TO U.S., EMBODIES GREAT FLEXIBILITY WITH RESPECT TO TYPES OF LEGAL RELATIONSHIPS FOR SEABED EXPLOITATION THAT CAN BE ENTERED IN TO BY AUTHORITY. ON QUESTIONS OF CONDITIONS FOR EXPLOITATION AND ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS LDC SOLIDARITY HAD BEEN WEAKENED. LDCS IN C-1 HAVE INDICATED STRONG DESIRE TO CONSIDER SERIOUS NEGOTIATION OF ARTICLE 9, "WHO MAY EXPLOIT THE AREA," IN HPES OF ARRIVING AT CONSENSUS TEXT BY END OF CARACAS SESSION, ALTHOUGH THERE IS SOME LDC SENTIMENT TO ENGAGE IN MOCH NEGOTIATION AND PUT ARTICLE 9 TO A VOTE.

C. CONSULTATIONS WITH GROUP OF 5 ON SEABEDS ISSUES HAVE BEEN SLIGHTLY CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 178492

STRAINED THIS SESSION, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OTHER MEMBERS OF GROUP APPEAR TO HAVE MORE FLEXIBILITY ON SOME ISSUES OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE (SUCH AS QUOTA SYSTEM, AND POSSIBLY ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS) BUT ARE GENERALLY MORE RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE IN CONCEPTUAL OR COSMETIC COMPROMISES THAN U.S. (OUR OVERALL TACTIC THIS SUMMER HAS BEEN TO DOWNPLAY TERMINOLOGY, WHILE STRESSING NECESSITY FOR SPELLING OUT HOW SYSTEM WOULD WORK THROUGH REGULATION). ONE POSSIBLE EXPLANATION FOR THIS DIVERGENCE IN POSITIONS MAY BE THAT OTHER MEMBERS ARE CONTEMPLATING FINAL ACCEPTANCE OF DUAL SYSTEM THAT WOULD INCLUDE LICENSING IN PARALLEL WITH DIRECT EXPLOITATION

RATHER THAN UNITARY SYSTEM. (USSR CONDITIONALLY ACCEPTED THIS APPROACH IN 1973, ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO SUBSTANTIATION THAT OTHERS INTEND TO DO SO.)

D. PRINCIPAL IMPEDIMENT TO GENUINE PROGRESS APPEARS TO BE UNWILLINGNESS OF LDC DELS TO SERIOUSLY CONSIDER RULES AND REGULATIONS UNTIL CONCEPTUAL QUESTION OF AUTHORITY'S CONTROL OVER SEABED EXPLOITATION IS RESOLVED. U.S. ON OTHER HAND HAS INDICATED NO WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE EXPLOITATION SYSTEM WITHOUT GUARANTEE THAT THERE WILL BE SATISFACTORY REGULATORY PROVISIONS IN TREATY. EVIDENCE OF THIS IMPASSE CAN BE SEEN IN LDC DELS REFUSAL TO ALLOW JAMAICAN PROPOSAL ON ARTICLE 9 WHICH EMPHASIZED REGULATORY PROVISIONS TO APPEAR AS FOOTNOTE TO GROUP OF 77 ALTERNATIVE FOR THAT ARTICLE. ALTHOUGH U.S. CANNOT ACCEPT FORMULA FOR EXPLOITATIONS SYSTEM WHICH IS NOT EXPRESSLY CONDITIONED ON REGULATIONS TO BE DEVELOPED BY CONFERENCE, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO INITIATE NEGOTIATIONS ON ARTICLE 9 IN CONJUNCTION WITH NEGOTIATIONS ON PROVISIONS FOR REGULATIONS. TO ACHIEVE THIS SOLUTION, HOWEVER, WE WILL HAVE TO OBTAIN LDC COMMITMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 178492

TO INCLUSION OF SOME REGULATIONS IN TREATY AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP MANDATED TO DRAFT TREATY ARTICLES ON BASIC CONDITIONS OF EXPLOITATION.

E. C-1 HAS DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE TIME TO BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL DEBATE ON SUBJECT OF ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF SEABED PRODUCTION ON LDC LAND-BASED PRODUCERS. IN COURSE OF THESE DISCUSSIONS LDC CONSUMER INTERESTS HAVE BEEN JUXTAPOSED AGAINST PRODUCER INTERESTS IN CONTROLS OVER SEABED DEVELOPMENT BY SEVERAL LDC REPS. IN ADDITION, CLEAR CONSENSUS HAS EMERGED THAT PRESENT DATA REGARDING PROBABLE EFFECTS IS UNRELIABLE. WRAP-UP DEBATE INCLUDED SEVERAL STATEMENTS BY PREVIOUSLY HARD-LIN LDC REPS WHICH IMPLY SOME SOFTENING IN POSITIONS MAY EVENTUALLY EMERGE.

3. COMMITTEE II - A. ECONOMIC ZONE - WITH DEBATE FOCUSED ON ECONOMIC ZONE, PRINCIPAL GENERAL PROBLEMS ARE:

(1) COASTAL STATE JURISDICTION OVER NON-RESOURCE ACTIVITIES (E.G., POLLUTION, SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, ETC.)

(2) FULL UTILIZATION OF FISH STOCKS, AND RELATED QUESTION OF ACCESS BY OTHER STATES, INCLUDING LEANDLOCKED STATES.

(3) JURISDICTION OVER CONTINENTAL MARGIN BEYOND 200 MILES, AND RELATED QUESTION OF REVENUE-SHARING.

THESE PROBLEMS ARE REASON FOR HIGHLY THEORETICAL LDC DISCUSSIONS OF "ESSENTIAL CHARACTER" OF ECONOMIC ZONE, WITH CANADA STRONGLY PRESSING THE LINE THAT THE ECONOMIC ZONE IS NOT MERELY A RESOURCE ZONE BUT A ZONE OF COASTAL STATE MANAGMENT. THUS, THE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR A 12-MILE TERRITORIAL AREA AND A 200-MILE ECONOMIC ZONE AS PART OF AN OVERALL LOS PACKAGE IS NOT READILY TRANSLATABLE INTO SPECIFICS. NEW U.S. ARTICLES ON ECONOMIC ZONE (TRANSMITTED SEPARTELY) HAVE HOWEVER BEEN WELL RECEIVED, AND UPCOMING MEETINGS WITH COASTAL STATE GROUP AND WITH AFRICANS ON ARTICLES MAY BE PRODUCTIVE.

B. STRAITS - U.S. STRONG NEGATIVE REACTION TO WARSHIP-COMMERCIAL
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PAGE 05 STATE 178492

VESSEL

DISTINCTION IS NOW SIDELY KNOWN, AND SEEMS TO BE HAVING DAMPENING EFFECT ON THAT IDEA. PRIVATE CONCERSATIONS CONTINUE TO CONFIRM THAT TREND CONTINUES IN OUR DIRECTION.

C. ARCHIPELAGOS- EXTREME TURKISH REACTION TO CANADIAN, INDIAN, ETC. PAPER ADVOCATING ARCHIPELAGO TREATMENT FOR ISLANDS OF CONTINENTAL STATES SEEMS TO HAVE GIVEN INDONESIA AND OTHERS PAUSE, AS IT APPEARS TURKEY HAS CLEAR ARAB SUPPORT. COUPLED WITH REPORTS THAT LDCA ARE GETTING A BIT TIRED OF CANADIAN HARPING ON POLLUTION JURISDICTION, IT MAY BE THAT THEY ARE OVERPLAYING THEIR HAND.

4. COMMITTEE III (POLLUTION)- A. LACK OF MOVEMENT ON POLLUTION ISSUES SEEMS DUE ONELY STATED INTENTION OF LEAST SOME DEVELOPING COUNTIRES NOT TO MOVE FASTER ON THESE ISSUES THAT ON NEGOTIATION ON ECONOMIC ZONE IN COMMITTEE II. LAST WEEK HAS PRODUCED SOME MOVEMENT, PERHAPS DUE TO FORMAL SUBMISSION OF PAPER BY SEVERAL COASTAL STATES SETTING OUT THE ECONOMIC ZONE APPROACH TO POLLUTION CONTROL, I.E., ESSENTIALLY COMPLETE COASTAL STATE JURISDICTION OVER ALL SOURCES FOR BOTH STANDARD-SETTING AND ENFORCEMENT. CHAIRMAN VALLARTA AHS MADE STRONG EFFORT TO GET MOVEMENT EITHER IN INFORMAL SESSIONS OR IN A SMALL NEGOTIATING GROUP BUT HAS BEEN LARGELY FRUSTRATED IN HIS EFFORTS BY PROCEDURAL WRANGLING. NORWAY HAS RECENTLY ESTABLISHED A SMALL PRIVATE NEGOTIATING GROUP (INCLUDING U.S.) ALONG LINES OF EVENSEN GROUP ON RESOURCES TO ATTEMPT

TO DEAL WITH CONTROVERSIAL MARINE POLLUTION ISSUES RELATING TO VESSEL S.
EARLY MEETINGS OF GROUP ON DUMPING QUESTIONS SHOW SOME PROMISE FOR PROGRESS.

B. SUBSTANTIVELY, MAIN ISSUES OF DISCUSSION AND CONTENTION TO DATE HAVE DEALT WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRY DISIRE TO HAVE DOUBLE STANDARD REGARD-
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PAGE 06 STATE 178492

ING BOTH ESTABLISHMENT AND APPLICATION OF POLLUTION CONTROL STANDARDS

.
INDIA, KENYA AND BRAZIL HAVE BEEN MOST VOCAL ON THIS ISSUE. BASIC THRUST OF APPROACH HAS BEEN TO INCLUDE LANGUAGE ALLOWING STATES TO TAKE THEIR NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT POLICIES INTO ACCOUNT WHEN CARRYING OUT THEIR INTERNATIONAL POLLUTION CONTROL OBLIGATIONS. U.S. AND MOST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES HAVE STRONGLY OPPOSED THIS MOVE BUT HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT UNDERCUT BY CANADIAN ACCEPTANCE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRY APPROACH. THERE WAS SOME PROGRESS ON QUESTION OF VESSEL CONSTRUCTION STANDARDS AS MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES NOW WILLING TO HAVE SUCH STANDARDS SET THROUGH AN INTERNATIONAL PROCESS, PROBABLY THROUGH IMCO, RATHER THAN BY COASTAL STATES. MEXICAN REP HAS TOLD US LATIN AMERICAN GROUP HAS TAKEN FAVORABLE DECISION ON THIS POINT. HOWEVER, DEVELOPING COUNTRIES CONTINUE TO ARGUE FOR COASTAL STATES RIGHTS TO SET DISCHARGE STANDARDS AND TO ENFORCE ALL STANDARDS IN ENTIRE ECONOMIC ZONE. POSITIONS ON THESE ISSUES SHOULD BECOME MORE CLEAR WHEN THEY ARE REACHED IN THE AGENDA FOR DEBATE IN INFORMAL SESSIONS.

C. U.S. HAS CONTINUED TO COORDINATE WITH GROUP OF FIVE (U.S. USSR, U.K., FRANCE AND JAPAN) AND GROUP OF 17 (ABOVE PLUS SWEDEN, NORWAY, DENMARK, BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS, FRG, ITALY, GREECE, FINLAND, GDR, BULGARIA, AND POLAND) ALTHOUGH THERE ARE GROWING DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE GROUP ON TACTICS AND SUBSTANCE OF DEALING WITH DEVELOPING COASTAL STATE POSITIONS ON VESSEL-SOURCE POLLUTION. SEVERAL WANT TO MAKE LIMITED PROPOSALS DESIGNED TO HELP SATISFY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. DENMARK, FOR EXAMPLE, HAS MADE PUBLIC PROPOSAL ALLOWING CERTAIN COASTAL STATE ENFORCEMENT RIGHTS BEYOND TERRITORIAL SEA. FRG AND GREECE HAVE PUBLICLY PROPOSED HIGH SEAS INSPECTION RIGHTS. USSR HAS PROPOSED RIGHTS TO SET STANDARDS AND TAKE ENFORCEMENT ACTION AGAINST DUMPING IN AN UNSPECIFIED ZONE OFF THE COAST. U.S. IS IN PROCESS OF TRYING TO GET AN AGREED SET OF ARTICLES WITH GROUP OF 17 OR AT LEAST WITH A LARGE NUMBER OF ITS
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PAGE 07 STATE 178492

MEMBERS WHICH CAN BE PROPOSED TO CONFERENCE AS COUNTER TO COASTAL STATE ARTICLES. WIDE SPECTRUM OF DIFFERENT APPROACHES MAKES THIS DIFFICULT, HOWEVER, AND PERHAPS IMPOSSIBLE.

D.U.S. BILATERAL EXPLORATORY DISCUSSIONS WITH CANADA, THE LEADER OF THE COASTAL STATE GROUP, HAVE REVEALED A PRIMARY INTEREST IN PROTECTING THE ARCTIC THROUGH AN APPROACH COMBINING COASTAL STATE RIGHTS TO SET DISCHARGE STANDARDS AND TO ENFORCE ALL STANDARDS (PERHAPS WITH STRICT LIMITATIONS REGARDING ENFORCEMENT OF CONSTRUCTION STANDARDS) AND COASTAL STATE STANDARDS SETTING FOR CONSTRUCTION AND DESIGN IN VULNERABLE AREAS WITH AN INTERNATIONAL REVIEW PROCESS. THESE DISCUSSIONS ARE CONTINUING AS WE ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN DETAILS ON CANADIAN POSITION AND POSSIBLE AREAS OF FLEXIBILITY.

5. COMMITTEE III (SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH) - A. MOVEMENT HAS FINALLY BEGUN. LAST WEEK SAW SECRETARIAT PRESENT TECHNOLOGY REPORT AND NIGERIA INTRODUCED ARTICLES ON TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY. ALTHOUGH NAIVE AND UNACCEPTABLE TO U.S. NIGERIA ARTICLES WERE FIRST ON SUBJECT AND MAY SERVE TO RELIEVE COMMITTEE III CHAIRMAN YANKOV'S NEED TO MAKE CONTINUOUS REFERENCE TO LACK OF PROGRESS ON TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, THUS PERMITTING INFORMAL WORKING GROUP TO CONTINUE TO NARROW DIFFERENCES ON SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ARTICLES.

B. WORKING GROUP UNDER CHAIRMAN METTERNICK MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS. FORMULATION OF GENERAL PRINCIPLES BY METTERNICK WAS MOST HELPFUL SINCE IT PROVIDED FIRST OPPORTUNITY FOR WORKING GROUP TO REACH AGREEMENT. METTERNICK ALSO DRAFTED FOUR "TRENDS" WHICH WILL BE BASIS FOR DISCUSSION DURING REMAINING SESSIONS AND WHICH, IT ACCEPTED, WILL BE ADVANTAGEOUS TO U.S. TRENDS REPRESENT 1) CONSENT ARTICLES SUBMITTED BY CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 178492

KENYA AND 17 OTHER STATES; 2) QUALIFIED CONSENT ARTICLES OF MEXICO AND IRELAND; 3) U.S. ARTICLES; AND 4) SOVIET ARTICLES. MOREOVER, SINCE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THIS WEEK INDICATED PRIVATELY TO METTERNICK THEIR BELIEF THAT THE MEXICAN-IRISH PROPOSAL MIGHT WELL PROTECT THERE

INTEREST

AND SERVE AS A USEFUL BASIS FOR DISCUSSION, THERE IS A SLIGHT
POSSIBILITY
THAT TREND 1) MAY BE ELIMINATED BY END OF CARACAS SESSION.

C. INFORMAL DRAFTING GROUP CONSISTING OF AUSTRIA, DENAMRK, SWEDEN,
SWITZERLAND, FRG, U.K., FRANCE, POLAND, USSR, SINGAPORE, ITALY, THAI-
LAND,
JAPAN AND NETHERLANDS-- WITH U.S. AS "OBSERVER--- CONTINUES TO MEET
DAILY AND TO DRAFT ARTICLES WHICH INCORPORATE U.S. POSITION. GROUP
WORKING HARD TO BROADEN ITS MEMBERSHIP TO INCLUDE MORE LDCS.
STEVENSON UNQUOTE KISSINGER

NOTE BY OC/T: POUCHED ABOVE ADDRESSEES.

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